2:Lowie E-4 (no date) 1946 SP8 Bororo SP8

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Whether the tribe farmed prior to white influence is not clear. Von den Steinen (1894) insists that they did not; cultivation, he emphasizes, occurred only along the headwaters of the São Lourenço River, and even there was confined to tobacco, cotton, and gourds used as containers, i. e., to species not serving for food. In a western aldea the growing of manioc and maize noted by Kozlowsky (1895 b) seems to have been incipient, since he considered the amount insufficient for a fortnight's sustenance. Colbacchini (1925) denies agriculture but records a myth explaining the origin of maize; and of Baldus' (1936) informants some strongly affirmed and others disputed the cultivation of maize (milho) in earlier times. On the Vermelho River, manioc and maize are planted nowadays, in addition to rice, which is, of course, very recent.

At all events, it seems safe to conclude that the *Bororo* were predominantly hunters, gatherers, and fishermen. Typically, a husband would go hunting game in the woods while his wife collected seeds, climbed palms for nuts, and dug up roots with a stick. Women also helped returning hunters by carrying their kill home. Game animals included peccaries (the favorite food), tapirs, jaguars, rabbits, and various birds. Communal hunting expeditions, possibly extending over several weeks, were inspired by medicine men, who indicated the sites for major enterprises. Dogs were originally quite unknown.

Fish are caught in nets or weirs, shot with arrows (pl. 86, *bottom*), or drugged. Some are killed with short clubs suspended on the back from a neck-cord. Barbed harpoons are hurled at large fish and caimans.

Food preparation.—Salt was originally unknown.

All game animals are roasted in their skins; only the intestines are boiled. Meat, bones, and nuts are sometimes pounded in a mortar only 16 inches (40 cm.) in height; it has the shape of a decapitated egg, and is planted in the ground. The nuts, either thus pounded or roasted, are mixed with water and stirred into a gruel, which is served to guests.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

In the dry season the *Eastern Bororo* settlements are near the river banks, whence they are shifted to higher ground when the rains set in. Even in temporary encampments the center is occupied by a large rectangular house—the men's club, workshop, and ceremonial hall, which likewise serves as the bachelor's dormitory. The family houses, on the other hand, are arranged along the circumference of the circle of which this men's house is the center. Only the *Cabaçaes*

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring maté, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with hurity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

574 735 342 352 512 323 387 178 411 77 197 574 533 535 [273]

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533 would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted
535 on retiring to their hammocks.

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it
535 has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly
[182] the significance of the dance.

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served
535 as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter;
292 the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently
taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man
[302] to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted
on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms
were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face
was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the
[291] penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men
under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of
palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoul-
ders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the
[825] pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which
[531] was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide
was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one
could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of
many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal
completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on
the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535 The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment
of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar'
dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals
in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began
in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts
or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the
[533] open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did
not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed
with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side.
His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his
body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the
women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not
leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

000 selves, though they are from the same moiety.

571 Two other lineages of the Echerae moiety, Kaigu and
616 Bakorokudu, also exchanged gifts, but they did not actualize
613 their relationship through the exchange of women and initiators. The Bororo say that Bakorokudu had so many sons (yorubodare) in the opposite moiety that he was ashamed to take his wife from his own moiety.

The yorubodare relationships have been established in the past and they continue through exchange of ceremonies, [574] songs, and food. During the communal meals when each man's pot full of food is brought into the men's house, he first takes his yorubodarege by the hand and leads them to the pot [881] so that they can help themselves. Ideally, a man's initiator, [582] his wife, and, when he is dead, his representative should [769] also be from the yorubodare lineages. The Bororo put clear emphasis on the alliance between moieties and not on their exogamy. There is nothing wrong in marrying within one's own moiety, but since Baitogogo established the yorubodare relationships between the two moieties, the women of one moiety belong to the men of the other moiety and these men would be [773] very angry if deprived of their rights. In the past it was different:

> "First came the Ivagududoge, true Orarimogodoge (another name for the Bororo). There were no Echerae among them. They were capibara, dog, rat, black vulture, turkey buzzard, curassow, parrot, parakeet. They mated among themselves and had children. Following their example, today's Ivagududoge do the same among themselves, with their kinsmen. But those who came later did not do it anymore. They became afraid of doing it among themselves be-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

The same day, we descended through the forest into a deep, narrow valley, then up the precipitous side of a mountain having six or seven terraces, descending, finally, into the basin of the Rio Vermelho, which is covered by a dense forest, and passing close to an immense rock called the Tower of Antonico, which rises vertically to a height of five or six hundred feet. We were ascending and descending and cutting our way all day, encountering everywhere the beaten runways of wild beasts, such as tapirs, pigs, capibaras and jaguars.

About evening, we arrived at another small encampment of the Bororó by the Rio Vermelho. As we approached the cluster of huts, we were greeted by a volley of *college yells*, or war-whoops, given by the Bororó in honor of their two fellow tribesmen, who were accompanying us, and of my companion. We remained here until morning, passing the night in one of the savage huts. It was littered with rubbish, but we got the natives to clean up a little, then to sprinkle some clean sand around on the ground. This work was done by the females.

This was an extremely wild appearing spot. The somewhat open space in which the few primitive residences were clustered, was shaggy with a low growth of bushes and trees, and hemmed in closely on all sides by a dense, unbroken virgin forest; while in seemingly perfect harmony with these savage, austere, though wildly picturesque surroundings, were the nude, *brightly painted*, *uncouth* appearing human beings who existed here, their long, black, gum-matted hair flowing over their shoulders. One could not fail to be profoundly impressed when contemplating the strange, awe-inspiring picture of these children of Nature nestling, like Adams and Eves and their progenies, in the bosom of wild, unsubdued Mother Nature, exceedingly remote from civilization and almost as untouched by it as the Cave Dwellers. The red, earth-charged torrent of the Rio Vermelho flowed through and added to the wild beauty of this Paradise of Nature. It was at hightide at the time of our visit, and many varieties of excellent fish sported in shoals in its turbid waters. The

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its *bakororó*, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these primitive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

When the immediate family of the deceased have howled, wailed and chanted until they can scarcely articulate, they drink clay water, asserting that this relieves the throat somewhat. 765 [271]

Finally, I saw the basket of bones taken by the mother of the deceased, and buried in the little cemetery two or three miles from the village, where, it was believed, the *bopi* would take possession of them in a few weeks. The sorcerer is believed to know when the *bopi* removes the bones. [775]

A day or two after the conclusion of the funeral rites I witnessed, the father of the deceased, sent by the village authorities, disinterred the basket of bones and brought it back to the great hut. Three of the chief men from a distant village had arrived on a visit, whom it was necessary to receive with honors and entertain with the best festival the village could get up. And what could equal for entertainment a good funeral *bakororó*? But how could they have a funeral *bakororó* without a corpse, or at least the bones? As soon as the basket of bones was again brought into the great hut, pandemonium was once more in session, and the rattling, roaring, groaning, squatting, snorting, barking, weeping and wailing continued all the rest of the day and all night. At daybreak, the following morning, an intermission was taken in order that the players and actors in this savage drama might go fishing. They fished and hunted all day that they might have something to feast upon, for, of course, a *bakororó* without a banquet would scarcely be a *bakororó*. But when the darkness of night again enshrouded the land, the hideous uproar of the savage horde again burst upon our ears and did violence to the peace and tranquillity of the night until the dawn, when it was once more hushed, and the basket of bones was again entombed. [574]

Some of the Indians of the Rio Negro, here before mentioned, a score or two of families of whom live in one immense hut,—a primitive "flat,"—always bury their dead inside this hut under a few inches of earth, depositing the tobacco, ornaments and trinkets of the deceased in the grave with him. Some days after burial, a large quantity of fermented liquor is 000

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

616 and eat, and in fact, do everything independently of each other.

262 264 As this was the season of green corn, all the savages brought with them into the great hut, one or more roasted ears, which they paused, momentarily, in their work to slowly pick a few kernels from and eat them, or to smoke a whiff or two 276 from a cigarette. Whenever one of them obtained a bit of tobacco, he prepared it for smoking by first pulverizing it, then rolling it up in a leaf in the form of a cigarette. When they have no tobacco, which they seldom do, they substitute for it certain leaves, which they roll into cigars.

262 264 A few hours after sunrise, an *arda* appeared at the entrance to the Sheraidi end of the great hut, and handed in a 616 clay pot containing about eight quarts of corn that had been [252] cut from the cob and boiled, and a moment later, a similar pot [415] of corn was delivered at the Ta Nagareda entrance, being one for each of the two parties. To eat, each group squatted or stood around its pot and scooped out the food with large shells, or with broad leaves folded to look like small sugar-scoops. I naturally supposed that these two pots of corn, in addition to the roasted ears that all had been nibbling during the morning, would make an ample breakfast for the thirty-three individuals in the hut. But, to my surprise, another pot containing a similar quantity of stewed corn, soon after appeared at the Sheraidi entrance to the primitive dining-hall, followed a moment later by another at the Ta Nagareda entrance; then, to my astonishment, more pots of corn continued to be passed in at each end of the big hut every ten or fifteen minutes, until a total of fifteen or six- [261] teen had been brought in. This required each man to eat at least three or four quarts of corn during eighty minutes, in addition to the roasted ears each had consumed. As the two ●574 *medo* who had accompanied us from the Ta Dare Mano Paro 576 village were guests of the local horde on this occasion, it was interesting to observe the etiquette shown in their treatment of them. As each pot was brought in and placed upon the ground, two members of the group receiving it would trot

over to each visitor in a stooping position, grasp him by the wrist, and trot him up to the pot, as much as to say, serve yourself, but without uttering a word. Thus these two men ate freely from every pot each group received, though they were occasionally trotted off to a fresh pot while still devouring from one. The observer wonders what is the size of their stomachs, and if they did not get their fill for once. But there seems to be no limit to the eating capacity of the primitive man. After all the stewed corn was consumed, which was eaten without any condiments whatever, a bushel of roasted ears was brought in, as a dessert, and also promptly devoured. But this was the one big meal of the day for the savage horde, except when food is very abundant; though when they can obtain it, they nibble at various bits of food during the entire day and evening.

To supplement our scant supply of food, we obtained from the natives some corn which was nearly ripe. This our cook prepared for eating by shelling it and breaking it up a little in a rude mortar; then making it into small loaves which he rolled up in large green leaves and baked in the ashes.

We determined not to return by land to the Ta Dare Mano Paro village, if we could avoid it; but instead, to make a raft and descend the river Pogúbu with our baggage, while our muleteer, only, should return by land with our beasts.

One afternoon, therefore, having induced a number of Bororó to join us, we went down to the river to make the raft. I was the only one of our party who had ever had any experience with rafts, nevertheless, each one wished to be master ship-builder. We had much difficulty in gathering the material and getting it down to the water's edge, though there was plenty of it in the woods, for after each Bororó had brought down an armful, he did not care to return for more.

To construct the raft, we first cut two cedar logs nine feet long and nine inches in diameter, placed them parallel upon the ground, five feet apart, notched them deep at each end, and bound onto them cross pieces of light wood. This formed the

/466 cont./

Eliseo had not yet been promoted; he himself, however, had been obliged to advise against having his young friend take over the other colony, Izabel, as proposed, because he might spoil his entire career by a mistake! For an outsider it was, indeed, remarkable to see how very much the cadets trusted his paternal care, which he alone profited by, and seemed truly devoted to him. I estimate that there were 30-35 toasts during the evening and calculate that more than 20 were to Duarte's well-being. Good-natured Eliseo was priceless. He first asked fluent Ildefonso to speak for him, but after a while he got up himself and /467/ began with determination: "não tendo a devida intelligencia," in fact, once the ice was broken, he gave one toast after another, each time beginning with the excuse that he did not have the necessary mental powers, and each time, at the end, appealing for the coadjuvencia of those present, debaixo de todo enthusiasmo he drank the health successively of the individual members of Duarte's family, his wife in Cuyabá, his brother, and especially his eldest daughter. The more beer that was drunk, the more moving and serious the speeches became. The apothecary was a poet, he knew a great deal about all kinds of flowers and compared the uncouth cadet Joaquim to a bud, he extolled woman who -- part one -- was only a child, and for him -- part two -- a goddess who forever remains an unfathomable mystery to us men. To the soft accompaniment of the guitar Caldas recited stirring verses; the beautiful words often tumbled over one another with uncanny speed, and with equal alacrity our emotion was obliged to leap from the tender to the pathetic, from the strong to the sweet. Everyone was deeply moved. Duarte was embraced like a father, Eliseo knelt before him and begged him for his blessing, which the father, however, gently refused with a "isso não," "oh friends, not these tones."

648 I have not yet mentioned the Bororó. They were by no means
574 absent, however, and were very much part of things. For the
[293] first time I saw a proud Indian chief uncork a bottle of German export beer. They did very well by the juice of barley and sugar cane and drank far more than they could stand; they kept

/467 cont./

648 574 [273] interrupting the sentimental speeches with their eager chatter, but no one paid any attention to it, they raised their bottles when the glasses clinked and would join in, they exhausted themselves and us with tender embraces. Moguyokuri also sat down and sang a resounding song and played the guitar, sweeping across the strings like a tapir through bamboo. Only the Indian women were absent during the serenade. Before it started, however, two young people had been brought by Moguyokuri to Duarte's room next door. There they looked out of the window the next morning and let themselves be admired, tortoise-shell combs in their hair, talmi chains around their necks, rose-colored circlets around their wrists, and demurely dressed in long shirts covered with a huge, iridescent palmetto design.

648 Perhaps I may be permitted to close up my peep show here. The pictures would merely be repeated. Until our departure on 18 April we had no occasion to observe whether the absence of the leader of the catechesis might be to blame for our unfavorable first impressions. Quite the contrary. Duarte went bathing, took a walk to the brickyard or the like; otherwise he sat all day in his room, in which there were always many Bororó. They all begged. Some received something, others received nothing. There were always drunken ones among them. The soldiers brought wood and palm leaves, which they obtained in the forest, for a new building. A few Bororó helped /468/ occasionally, because they received whiskey for it. If the purpose of the colony was doing nothing and passing the time on the part of officials and Indians, it could be regarded as a shining example for all others.

III. Observations.

000 Anthropological. Dress (hair, sexualia, artificial injuries, painting, ornaments). The aróe. Hunting and agriculture. Weapons. Work in the men's house and techniques. Food; "consecration" by the baris. Dance and play. Musical instruments; whizzer sticks. Art of drawing. Law and marriage (customs of the family and of the men s house). Birth; names. Death rites. Soul and

/489 cont./

732 Sometimes Dyapokuri gave a performance. The men were far from regarding the feeble-minded one, who could only babble, as a superior creature. He liked to portray the quarreling of the women by launching into the most enraged gestures and vigorously demonstrated the mutual scratching and hair-pulling. He flew into frightful agitation himself, however, when a soldier teased him on account of his setting out to pursue the Kayapó (page 568) and, a stick over his shoulder, hitched along with huge, lunging strides; the poor devil foamed at the mouth with indignation, threw his burning chunk of wood at the mocker, and, since he did not know what else to do, snatched up a few wood chips from the ground and, with a teeth-baring grimace and unintelligible sounds of rage, depicted -- the mustache of the soldier. After a while he calmed down again and, for the funeral ceremony, practiced rattling with two rattle gourds and the rhythmic aróe grunts.

123 The hours in the ranchão were instructive and agreeable. There was only one thing that was intolerable, the incessant begging for tobacco. My pipe traveled from one man to another. The men dictated pages of Bororó to me, each one having to present in sentences whatever was going on at the moment, listened to me repeat it, and then laughed, just as gratified [157] as the Bakaïrí. The more intimate we became, the more striking was the agreement in temperament and character with the Kulisehu Indians. On a post in the men's house, after we had taken the anthropological measurements, /490/ my height was also indicated. A piece of charcoal was crushed with the teeth, pulverized with saliva in the hand, and above my head a black ring was painted around the post.

433 Food; "consecration." According to Clemente's report, in spite of all the hunting, the plant food obtained by the women is of the greatest importance, because it comes in more regularly 222 and abundantly. The women look for roots with a pointed stick, climb up the palm trees with great agility, among which preference is given to the oaussú and akurí, gather the nuts, cut the "palm cabbage" in the crown, look for jatobá and pikí fruits, 292 and so forth. The palm nuts are roasted or pounded in a mortar •574 and mixed with water to make a thickish drink, the refreshing

/490 cont./

272 574 beverage which corresponds to the starch-paste or the pikí juice of the Kulisehu and is served to the guest. The maize mush to 262 241 which we were introduced in the ranchão is absent in the villages because there is no maize. The women prepare the vegetable 462 food. They also make the pots, of which there was only a small 323 number. There were two kinds, an open bowl, ruóbo, in which one cooked, and a póli with a short neck and narrow bottom, almost in the shape of the mortar, which was also used as a vessel, for the storing of water. They were very crude, superficially fired, not 412 glazed inside. The mortar, crudely carved, only about 40 centimeters tall, but easily transportable, had roughly the shape of an

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Fig. 142. Waterpot and pot-bowl. Bororó. (1/8 nat. size /as shown in the original illustration/.)

412 egg from which one pole was cut straight off and, when used, was stuck in the ground. Besides nuts, they also pounded meat and bones in it.

262 When the women came home to Thereza Christina, they gave the men "carne de coco," nut meat, and were given what was left of the "carne de gado," beef. Salt and bacon were scorned. Although wild pig was their favorite food, they refused the meat of the domestic pig because the animal was raised by its owner. When a suckling pig was served to the officers, they ran out of the room. [515] They had no such scruples about sand fleas which they dug out for themselves (we watched an Indian woman as she performed the